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Message of the Governor of Wisconsin

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5-164-D.
ANNUAL MESSAGE

OF THE

GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN,

AND

REPORTS

OF THE

STATE DEPARTMENTS,

FOR THE FISCAL YEAR

Ending Sept, 30th, 1861.

MADISON, WIS:

SMITH & CULLATON, STATE PRINTERS—ARGUS OFFICE.

1861.

J87
W6
1862 P

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

Gentlemen of the Senate and Assembly:

By the Annual Reports of the Secretary of State and State Treasurer, which are printed and in readiness for examination, it will be seen that the finances of the State are in a sound condition. During the past year, all demands against the State have been promptly met on presentation, and at the end of the fiscal year, September 30th, 1860, there was a balance on hand of the General Fund amounting to \$39,045 46.

The balance in the General Fund January 1st, 1860, was \$16,910 47.

The aggregate receipts into the General Fund during the year 1860, were..... \$416,286 12

Consisting of the following items:

State tax.....	\$263,593 72
Bank tax.....	88,488 94
Railroad tax.....	23,555 96
Insurance tax.....	9,606 18
Miscellaneous.....	14,130 85
Balance from 1859.....	16,910 47

The aggregate disbursements from the General Fund for the calendar year, were..... \$359,580 29

Leaving a balance in Treasury Jan. 1, 1861, of..... \$56,705 83

Of the expenditures from this fund, the sum of... 169,809 23 was for the State Prison, the various Benevolent Institutions, payment of interest on State loan, &c., leaving the sum of \$189,771 06 as properly the cost of carrying on the State Government. This sum compares with the like item, as ascertained for the previous year, as follows:

Expenses of 1859.....\$188,836 46

Expenses of 1860..... 189,771 05

The careful estimates of the Secretary of State, show the probable resources of the State applicable to the payment of expenses for the fiscal year end-

ing October 1st, 1861, amounting to.....	\$469,331 04
The expenditures for the same period of time, calculated on a sufficiently liberal scale for all the necessities of the State Government, are estimated at.....	360,742 50

Estimated balance in the Treasury, at the close of the fiscal year 1861.....	\$108,588 64
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PUBLIC PRINTING.

It is a matter for general congratulation that the questions at issue between the State and the contractor for the public printing, for the years 1859 and 1860, have been finally settled. A detailed history of the matter will be found in the Report of the Secretary of State, by whom, acting with the advice of the Attorney General, the negotiations for a settlement were conducted. The cost of the printing for the two years has been very much greater than was anticipated at the time of letting the contract. It was then thought that the sum of \$20,000 per year would be more than sufficient to meet the payments under the contract; but there had been audited by the late Secretary of State, up to December 31, 1859, the sum of \$77,104 07, while there still remained, of accounts not yet presented and adjusted, but claimed by the contractor, the sum of \$120,176 78; and the whole amount claimed by him, from November 30, 1858, down to December 31, 1859, was \$219,102 25! and there yet remained a year of this contract. By the settlement with the State Printer, the total amount paid to him, to the termination of his contract, January 1, 1861, is \$86,201 21, of which \$17,616 17 is for all the printing for the year 1860. The printing for the years 1861 and 1862 has been let, under the law of last session, to Messrs. E. A. Calkins & Co., of Madison.

SCHOOL FUND.

The School Fund, owing to the forfeiture of very large quantities of lands (heretofore sold and estimated as a portion of the productive fund, bearing 7 per cent. interest,) exhibits a large diminution in its nominal capital and actual revenue. The extent to which this diminution has gone, will be learned by an examination of the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, in which the condition of the Fund is treated very fully. The number of acres of School Lands, thus far forfeited for non-payment of dues, and yet unsold, October 1, 1860, was 352,840, while the proportion of loss to the productive School Fund, by the forfeiture of Swamp Lands, was, to that date, 247,130 acres. With the return of prosperous times, in the course of the succeeding years, these lands will again be sold and added to the productive Fund. The Superintendent estimates the productive School Fund, October 1, 1860, at \$2,339,694; and supposing the lands at pre-

sent belonging to that Fund to be sold at the minimum appraisal, he estimates that the Fund will reach \$3,234,156 from existing resources; while there will be added to it, in the future, the proceeds of sixteenth section lands not yet in market, one-fourth of the proceeds of the sale of Swamp Lands not yet offered, besides the avails of lands claimed from the General Government, and the long-withheld 5 per cent. fund, which must eventually come to the State.

The Report of the Commissioners of School and University Lands will be laid before you, containing information and suggestions in relation to the business entrusted to their charge. Your careful attention to the subject is imperatively needed, in order that, by judicious legislation, proper safeguards may be placed around these important funds, which have been much diminished by careless investment in past years.

STATE UNIVERSITY.

The University Fund, on the 1st October, 1860,
 amounted to..... \$286,725 92
 On which the annual interest, at 7 per cent. is..... 20,070 08
 Add balance in Treasury..... 313 33
 Gives income for the University for the year..... \$20,383 41

This fund shows a decrease of some \$14,000 from last year owing to the same causes which produced the diminution of the productive School Fund.

The Report of the Board of Regents of the State University, made according to requirement of law, will be laid before you, exhibiting the condition of that institution. There is no maxim more sound than the frequent changes in the policy and administration of such institutions is in the highest degree detrimental. With its buildings now completed, at an expense of not less than \$100,000, and affording ample accommodations for years to come, what the University mainly requires, is to be let alone, to pursue a quiet and even course of usefulness and progress. Earnest effort on the part of its Faculty, under the judicious supervision of its Regents, with an established policy, steadily pursued, will without doubt, speedily place it among the most important institutions of the State.

SWAMP LAND FUND.

The Swamp Land Fund, on the 1st October, 1860,
 amounted to..... \$813,820 34
 The interest of which, at 7 per centum, amounting to. 56,967 34
 Is appropriated by law in the following proportion,
 namely:

To the School Fund, 25 per cent., or..... \$14,241 00
 To the Normal School Fund, 25 per cent., or..... 14,241 00
 To the Drainage Fund, 50 per cent., or..... 28,482 00

During the past year, approved lists of Swamp Lands coming to the State, under the Act of 1850, amounting to about 500,000

acres, have been received at the Executive Office, and requests have been transmitted to the General Land Office, that patents therefor should be issued to the State. These lands are a part of those conceded by the Government to belong to the State, no settlement of the questions long at issue with the Department having been effected.

CAPITAL ENLARGEMENT.

I deem it my duty again to call attention to the necessity of commencing the enlargement of the Capitol. The foundation for the west wing or front, ought to have been laid last year, so that during the present year the wing could have been completed. The public necessities clearly require that this work should be commenced. The Supreme Court, the Senate, the Bank Comptroller, and the Treasurer, all need the accommodations of the proposed new building, for the convenient transaction of the public business. The records, the moneys, the securities and the books and papers belonging to the School Land Department are constantly liable to be destroyed. Millions of Dollars in value, of public and private property, are constantly risked and periled for want of the outlay of a few thousand dollars, in a necessary and permanent public improvement.

VALUATION.

The tables annexed to the report of the Secretary of State, show the equalized valuation of property in the State for the last year, (there being no new valuation of property assessed in 1859,) to be as follows:

Value of Real Estate	\$156,555,774
Value of Personal Property.....	27,506,761
Total.....	<u>\$184,062,535</u>

The amount of taxes levied upon the property of the people for State expenses, during the last year, was one mill and three-tenths on the dollar valuation, being one-tenth of a mill less than the previous year, although, owing to the increased return of personal property and new improvements, the sum realized was over \$242,031 25, being a slight increase over the previous year.

CENSUS, ETC.

The decennial enumeration of the population and the collection of statistics by the United States Government, have been made during the past year, and the State of Wisconsin exhibits a wonderful increase in number, and growth in every material element of prosperity. The following table shows the population of the Territory and the State at different periods of enumeration:

1836—Territorial,.....	11,683
1838—“.....	18,130
1840—“.....	30,945

1842—Territorial,.....	44,478
1846—“	155,277
1847—“	210,546
1850—State (United States census,).....	305,391
1855—“ (State census).....	552,109
1860—“ (United States census,).....	777,771

The figures show an increase in population of 572,300 in the last ten years, and of 225,662 in the last five years. Wisconsin coming into the Union in 1848, and being the twenty-fourth State in population in 1850, is now the thirteenth, and the advantages which it offers to emigrants from the older States, and from abroad, must, in a few years, place it among the very foremost States of the Union. The important duty of making the apportionment for Congressional and Legislative Districts, will devolve upon you.

COMMON SCHOOLS.

In the interesting and valuable Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, full details are given of the condition and working of our Common School system. The number of persons in the State between the ages of four and twenty, as returned for 1860, is 288,984—an increase of some 10,000 beyond the previous year. The average length of time for which schools have been taught, is—

Six and two-tenths months returned for 1860, against
5½ months for 1859.

Total number of districts in the State,.....4,711
Valuation of school houses,.....\$1,314,716 09

This item shows an increase of \$129,579 from 1859.

Average wages paid to male teachers per month,.....\$24 20
Average wages paid to female teachers per month,..... 15 30
Whole number in attendance at school during the
year,.....199,455

Amount paid for teachers wages the past year,.....\$367,481 10
Total expenditures for all purposes connected with
the Common Schools,.....\$573,756 00

The amount distributed for school purposes from
the State Treasury, within the last fiscal year,
was\$171,460 00

I invite your early and careful attention to the suggestions and recommendations contained in the Superintendent's Report.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The report of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools will be laid before you. The fund at their disposal, arising entirely from the sale of Swamp Lands, has been very much abridged by the decrease in the amount of lands sold from year to year, while the amount appropriated directly to the institutions in which normal classes have been taught has been lessened by the

payment of agencies employed by the Board in carrying forward the work of education; so that the sum distributed the last year was only \$4,649, or \$20 to each pupil taught. A more strict examination, however, has so lessened the number of beneficiaries of the fund, that this sum exceeds the average amount distributed the previous year, by \$2 to each pupil.

BANKS AND BANKING.

The Annual Report of the Bank Comptroller for the fiscal year ending October 1st, 1860, is printed and ready for your inspection. In addition, that officer has furnished me with the figures embraced in the following statement, bringing the principal items down to January 1, 1861, and presenting a comparative statement with the condition of the Department one year ago.

Number of banks January 1, 1860, one hundred and eight, with an aggregate capital of.....	\$7,760,000
Seven new banks organized in 1860, with an aggregate capital of.....	355,000
Twelve banks have increased their capital by.....	250,000

Total capital January 1, 1860, and increase,.....	\$8,365,000
Five banks have relinquished business, with an aggregate capital of.....	\$150,000
Twenty-five banks have reduced capital,.....	978,000
	<u>1,128,000</u>

Total number of banks in operation January 1, 1861, one hundred and ten, with capital amounting to.....	\$7,237,000
Decrease of banking capital for past year,.....	523,000
Whole amount of countersigned notes issued to banks and outstanding January 1, 1861, is.....	\$4,580,832
Namely: To banks doing business,.....	\$4,537,683
To banks winding up,.....	43,149

Total outstanding circulation,.....	\$4,580,632
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These notes are secured by the deposit of specie and public stocks as follows:

Kentucky 6s,.....	\$32,000
Louisiana 5s,.....	10,000
Louisiana 6s,.....	165,500
Missouri 6s,.....	1,397,000
Michigan 6s,.....	205,500
Indiana 2½s,.....	8,000
North Carolina 6s,.....	708,500
Ohio 6s,.....	173,000
Tennessee 6s,.....	856,000
Virginia 5s,.....	9,600
Virginia 6s,.....	175,000
California 7s,.....	462,000
Georgia 6s,.....	44,000

Georgia 7s.....	20,000	
Illinois 6s.....	508,280	
Iowa 7s.....	18,000	
Indiana 5s.....	82,700	
Wisconsin 6s.....	100,000	
Minnesota 8s.....	73,000	
Racine & Miss. R. R. Bonds, 8s.....	22,000	
Mil. & Watertown do 8s.....	60,000	
		\$5,120,080 00
Specie of organized banks.....	45,573 50	
Specie of banks winding up.....	43,152 00	88,725 50

Total securities on deposit.....	\$5,208,805 50
The amount of the bank tax due for the past year, was.....	103,807 86
The amount of securities over circulation Jan. 1st 1860, was.....	158,445 00
Amount of same Jan. 1st, 1861.....	627,973 00

Excess of margin Jan. 1st, 1861..... \$469,528 00

Your attention is invited to various suggestions contained in the Comptroller's Report looking to improvements in our banking system.

DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM.

The number of pupils in attendance during the last year was 87.

The report of the Trustees will be immediately laid before you. The amount appropriated last year seems to have been insufficient for the purposes for which it was intended, and a small indebtedness has been left over. The Trustees ask for an appropriation of \$13,500 for support and current expenses, and for additional buildings, steam heating apparatus, &c., a sufficient amount to make the whole amount asked for, \$20,450.

BLIND ASYLUM.

The Trustees of this institution report the amount expended during the past year, to be \$13,495. 94, which leaves a balance of the appropriation yet undrawn, amounting to \$3,250, of which about \$750 will be needed to complete existing contracts. They ask the sum of \$16,000 for the year 1861, of which \$10,000 is estimated for the support of the institution. The number of pupils in attendance the past year is 36.

STATE PRISON.

The number of convicts in the State Prison January 1, 1860 was.....	182
There were received during the year, up to October 1st.....	63

Total number in prison during the 9 months..... 245

The number discharged on expiration of sentence. was... ..	45
Number pardoned.....	25
Deaths.....	1
Escaped.....	1
Time reduced under law of 1860.....	3
	75

Number in Prison Oct. 1, 1860..... 170
Of whom 158 were males and 12 females.

The amount appropriated last year to the State Prison, was \$30,000, together with the sum of \$3,296 24 paid by the U. S. Government for the keeping of its convicts, and a balance of \$1,377 12 paid over to the present Commissioner, by his predecessor. This sum, in the aggregate, is less than any amount devoted to State Prison purposes since 1853. The Commissioner reports a balance on hand Oct. 1st, 1860, of \$5,298 49, besides the amount due from the United States; and he estimates that the sum of \$25,000 will be a sufficient appropriation for the current year. The cabinet and shoe shops in the Prison have earned the sum of \$2,458 35 above their expenses. A large amount of work, amounting to several thousands of dollars in value, in the form of prison wall and shops, &c., has been done by the convicts during the year. The report of the commissioner abounds in valuable suggestions, to which your attention is invited.

INSANE HOSPITAL, STATE REFORM SCHOOL, ETC.

My visits to the benevolent and penal institutions of the State have furnished the most satisfactory evidence of the economy, efficiency and prudence with which the affairs of each have been conducted during the past year. Both the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institutions have careful Boards of Trustees, who devote themselves earnestly to the welfare of the institutions themselves. They are men of sound judgment and sagacity, who feel the importance of their several trusts. The officers and teachers are apt and accomplished in their several callings, and both of these great charities are in a flourishing condition, and are full of usefulness to the unfortunate pupils committed to them. The reports are very full and complete, and show their actual condition and their necessities for the current year. I have no need to commend them to the good will of this Legislature.

The State Reform School and the Insane Hospital being comparatively new, will require more care and attention than the older institutions, that have so frequently passed under the supervision of the committees of the Legislature.

The Insane Asylum has come up out of some financial confusion. The Board of Trustees, composed of substantial, discreet and able men, selected from different portions of the State, and entitled to public as well as private confidence, have spent much time and earnest labor to render the Asylum what the Legislature intended

it should be, a refuge and quiet home for a most wretched class of our fellow-beings, and at the same time a hospital for treatment of mental diseases. The very able report of the Board gives a complete, concise history of the institution in all its departments, financial, curative and otherwise.

The State Reform School has been well managed, and in a remarkable degree is answering to the most sanguine expectations of its friends. In this, as in all the other public institutions, experienced and well tried men have devoted themselves to its welfare. If the present condition of the School, under a Superintendent who is a good man, as well as a man of reliable judgment and ability, is any evidence of its future usefulness to the degraded, homeless, houseless, parentless children of the State, who through misfortune, want or accident drop into petty crimes, all good citizens, everywhere, may take a just pride in its prosperity. The report of the Board of Managers, exhibits fully its condition and wants, and together with the closing report of the Building Commissioners, shows the economy of the erection and completion of the buildings, and its management since it has been opened.

The State Prison has been admirably managed by the Commissioner. I invite your attention to his report, showing the condition of the prison and of the prisoners. His suggestions are practical, and deserve your favorable consideration.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S REPORT.

The annual report of the Adjutant General, shows that fifty-two uniformed volunteer companies are organized and armed, and in various states of efficiency, numbering 1,992 rank and file. Besides these companies, twelve others, in different portions of the State, have applied for organization and equipment. Should the last mentioned companies be regularly equipped with the legal number of arms, the total number would be 2,473. But the State has not the means to arm more than three or four of the companies applying, and the annual quota, to which the State is entitled under the practice of the Federal Government of late years, will only give us sufficient for about three companies more.

Efforts have been made during the past year, by the Adjutant General, to bring the uniformed militia up to a standard of greater efficiency, and with some degree of success; but the fact is nevertheless apparent that the organization of military companies has been too often the result of the desire of localities to obtain the means of making a display on anniversary occasions, and when the arms have been obtained from the State, the object of the organization is too often deemed accomplished, and the company seldom meets for drill thereafter; the men resign after a time, and the company maintains but a nominal existence. It is for the Legislature to consider whether this state of things ought to continue, and whether there is anything in the signs of the times

which should cause steps to be taken to place the Volunteer Militia upon a more efficient footing. The number of persons subject to military duty in the State exceeds 130,000.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

A brief Report by the Superintendent of the Geological Survey, Prof. Hall, is in readiness to be laid before you, exhibiting the condition and progress of the work. Under the law of last winter, special contracts were made with Prof. J. D. Whitney and Prof. C. T. Whittlesey; the former for the completion of sectional maps of the lead-bearing region of this State, and the latter for the completion and report of his work, which was chiefly carried on in the extreme north-eastern and north-western portion of the State. The Report and maps of Prof. Whitney, and the Report of Prof. Whittlesey, are completed, and will be placed at the disposal of the Legislature at an early day. Prof. Hall expects to be in Madison early in the session of the Legislature, and will present the condition of the work at that time.

RAILROADS, ETC.

Stockholders, and individuals whose money has been honestly invested in railroads, have a right to some further protection and security by law. The early stockholders and men of comparatively small means, furnish the basis of all the subsequent credit of the company, and are always the first men plundered, and the last men secured, by the public spirited, self-devoted, patriotic railroad operators. If the acts of incorporations are public acts, as they declare themselves to be, and if the proceedings of Boards of Directors are public, and their records public, as to all persons dealing with the company, then the interests and rights of the original stockholders are noticed to the world; and any trade or contract made, or fraud committed, by the directors or agents of the company, cannot divest the stockholders of their rights in the road, without their expressed consent. Their money is in the roads, and they ought to have an equitable lien and a right to follow their money into the roads themselves. The railroads should be made to pay the money that built them, and the laws ought to create in all corporations a first lien for the benefit and security of the original stockholders. While the Legislature can not create an equitable right, yet where such a right exists the Legislature has the power to provide a process, or remedy, by which that right may be secured.

A large and respectable class of our citizens have become involved in serious difficulties, which, in all cases, either have led or will lead, to great losses, and, in many cases, to absolute ruin. There is a class of securities called Railroad Farm Mortgages, which are hanging over some of the best farms and are embarrassing a great many of the best men in the State. The aggregate amount of these mortgages is estimated at about five millions

of dollars. They cover lands valued, at least, at fifteen millions of dollars. Between five and six thousand men are involved in these peculiar liabilities. They were executed upon the pretence that they were to be used as collateral security for loans of money made by the railroad companies. They were conceived in fraud, executed in fraud, and sold or transferred in fraud, by the directors, or agents, of some of these companies. While some of the directors and agents were innocent of these deceptions upon the farmers, the men who controlled these financial operations were dishonest, and sought not a public benefit, but their own aggrandizement. It furnished a short and easy method of getting money without earning it, and provided ample means, at the expense of laboring citizens, of living without labor. An ancient nation had no law for punishing a man who murdered his mother. The reason was, that it had never been conceived that any man could commit such a crime. In the history of the financial speculations of this country, so bold, open, unblushing fraud, taking in a large body of men, were never perpetrated. There was, and is, no law to punish them ; because such rascality could not have been anticipated.

It becomes a matter of State importance. The State cannot afford to lose the labor, and energy, and enterprise of five thousand of its best citizens, nor can the State afford to suffer fifteen millions of dollars of the earnings of these men to feed the hungry maw of a gigantic swindle. Every legitimate means, warranted by law and good faith, should be used for their relief. The railroad companies ought to be able to relieve these mortgagors.

As a measure of relief, a new disposition of a portion of the Grant of Lands, made by Congress to the State, in trust for railroad purposes, and turned over to the State, by the La Crosse & Milwaukee Railroad Company, might be made, with the consent of Congress. In case all that portion of the Grant not sold to the St. Croix & Lake Superior Railroad Company, is not to be given to a new Company, to carry out the design of Congress, and under conditions which shall beyond contingency save the farm mortgagors, I suggest for your consideration a memorial to Congress, asking that the act making the grant to the State be so changed as to give the State absolute control of the same, so far as rights of private parties or companies have not become legally, permanently fixed. That relief granted by Congress—which could unquestionably be obtained if an energetic effort should be made for the purpose—the lands could be sold at some price, the minimum of which should be fixed by law, and the proceeds used to, relieve the mortgagors, directly, or to aid the companies or their representatives, in relieving these farmers of such unconscionable burdens.

EXCHANGES.

The recent embarrassments under which merchants and busi-

ness men of the State have labored from the derangements in financial affairs, are deserving of your attention. These difficulties have evidently arisen from causes quite out of the ordinary course of events; although, in their effects upon us, traceable to peculiar exigencies in our export trade.

The law of commercial exchanges is of course subject to the law of traffic: that of supply and demand. In foreign trade, exports and imports being nearly equal, money is only required to adjust balances; while in the internal and export trade of this State, large disbursements are first required for the purchase of products. Time, for shipment and sales in eastern marts, is a very important element in the grain traffic, and has necessarily at all times a controlling influence upon the rates of financial exchange; and this was especially true of the late temporary panic.

The surplus wheat crop of our farmers, for sale after the last harvest, was full twenty-five millions of bushels. To purchase and remove this immense surplus, or even a considerable part of it, would require the disbursement of several millions of dollars. In past years grain buyers usually brought into the State eastern currency to effect their purchases; but our local banks having now a circulation adequate to the public wants, has rendered this course no longer necessary. Accordingly, the purchases of the late harvest, so far as made, were effected mainly by eastern acceptances, or by drafts drawn against the grain in transit, negotiated at western banks, which furnished buyers the currency used in the traffic. In all ordinary conditions of the money market, no difficulty could have arisen from these accommodations; since the maturity of acceptances at eastern banks, or the grain shipped and sold, would furnish an adequate and reliable basis for the furnishing of eastern exchange to our merchants and business men. But suddenly, in the midst of this great movement of our principal staple, and while agriculturists were hopeful and happy in the prospect of speedily receiving the rewards of honest and well directed industry, the commercial world was startled by a panic. One of the chief causes of this seems now to have been the felonious abstraction of a large amount of State stocks, held as Indian Trust Funds, from the proper department at Washington, and which were unexpectedly and strangely thrown into market. A sudden depression in such stocks was the consequence, followed by a fall in the price of grain.

Acceptances held by our bankers were, in some cases, dishonored; and the grain, after reaching the seaboard was necessarily withheld from market, awaiting a rise, or heavy and ruinous losses would have been the consequence. The result was, of course, that the basis of exchange of western bankers was suddenly, though temporarily, stricken down; that no adequate balances remained to be drawn against, and hence an instant and unexampled rise in rates of exchange. To add to the perplexity, this happened at a period when our merchants usually make heavy

remittances, and large sums of interest on railroad and other debts were to be met in the Atlantic cities and States.

The demand for exchange, and the almost entire absence of supply, placed us, for a season, in the novel position of having abundant means, but totally unavailable to meet the just dues of Eastern creditors.

In this singular emergency, a confidence in our people in the security of their banks, and a forbearance to press claims upon them, added to the prompt and judicious action of the bankers themselves, saved the commercial and agricultural interests from imminent peril, if not utter ruin. The stock panic commenced subsiding as soon as its causes were understood, and it was ascertained that the interest to become due on stocks at the commencement of the present year would be promptly paid. Indebted States made speedy arrangements to meet their interest, leaving no grounds to distrust either their good faith, or their ability to pay. The prices of produce, with every other article, underwent a favorable change; sales were made at a fair profit; acceptances became due, and were duly met, and already rates of exchange have fallen sufficiently to enable remittances to be made, and business of every kind to resume its wonted course.

Indeed, the panic and its effects upon Wisconsin trade have probably disappeared, while our people have still on hand, ready for improved prices, at least sixteen millions of bushels of their surplus crops. When this shall have been sold, and its proceeds realized, a large amount of indebtedness will be wiped out, and the community left in a condition of comparative affluence.

In former messages I have repeatedly adverted to what I regard as evils in our Banking system, and I still believe the nearer our currency approaches a specie standard the less liable it will be to sudden spasmodic fluctuations in exchanges or otherwise.

In the isolated position of the State, cut off, as it is, for about three months every year from the sea-board, when shipments cannot be made, and consequently the basis of exchange cannot be readily renewed, it is probable that rates will always rule higher in winter than in summer months. This seems a necessity of our geographical position. At the same time precautions should, if possible—(by keeping our circulation up to specie value, and by preventing combinations among bankers and brokers)—be taken against excessive rates which are not only an excessive tax levied upon the producing classes, but may amount to prohibition upon common business transactions among citizens. So far as these evils can be remedied by legislation, they require, as they doubtless will receive, your careful attention.

SPECIAL PREMIUMS.

In view of the probable difficulties which may embroil the States of the Union, but more especially with a purpose of developing new agricultural products, and rendering our citizens more nearly inde-

pendent by reason of their home productions, I have deemed it proper to call the especial attention of the Legislature to the propriety of special premiums on one or two products, from whose diffusion important and valuable results may be anticipated.

The annual expenditure of the people of the State, for supplies of sugars and syrups, reaches beyond a million of dollars. Experience has already demonstrated that the recently-acquired Imphee, Sorghum, or Chinese Sugar Cane plants, may become acclimated, and open a wide field for the enterprise of agriculturists. Thus far, the cultivation has only been experimental, and on too limited a scale to be regarded as a fair test. But these experiments, made generally in connection with other pressing labors distracting the attention, with limited means and inadequate apparatus, have afforded very satisfactory results. They seem to render it certain, that every acre of good cane will produce from one hundred and fifty to three hundred gallons of syrup, equal in quality to any imported, and that the manufacture of sugar is also an attainable end, at but moderate cost.

It is difficult to induce agriculturists, engaged in the common farm pursuits, to devote their attention to a new crop on a sufficiently large scale, and incur the necessary outlay of capital required, without some special inducement. I suggest, therefore, whether it is not a matter of sufficient importance to the State to offer for one or two years, under suitable restrictions, liberal premiums or rewards to the producer of the greatest amount of cane, and the largest yield of sugar and syrup of approved quality. Ten premiums could be so graduated as to call for a sum not exceeding \$3,500 in the aggregate, making the highest one thousand and the lowest one hundred, and would, in my opinion, invite a lively competition, from which the State, in time, would reap very essential benefits.

The cultivation of flax, also, is a branch of agriculture entitled to special encouragement. Recent scientific discoveries have rendered it probable that a material can be fabricated from this plant under certain chemical processes, similar but much superior to cotton, and at a cost, not much, if any greater. If these results should be realized, the cultivation of the crop in increased quantities will prove highly important in an economic point of view, and would add one step more towards freeing us from dependence on foreign States for articles of indispensable necessity.

There may be, and quite likely are other branches of agriculture, a larger development of which is important, and which should receive State encouragement, should these recommendations be adopted. I am aware that the policy of such premiums has not hitherto been urged in Wisconsin, although common enough in many of the States of the Union. Still, as the cost involved is but a trifle—not necessarily exceeding \$5,000 in the whole, the results must be meagre indeed, not to confer an immeasurably greater benefit upon the people. For want of some such encouragement, many products of importance languish for years before attracting the attention they deserve; and then, not unfrequently owe their prominence to accident. The adop-

tion of a system that may lead to new discoveries, and enlarge and increase our agricultural pursuits, altogether too confined and exclusive at present, cannot be regarded as unimportant, and is entitled to your consideration and favor.

DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

A great necessity, in my judgment, to the welfare of our people, present and prospective, is an increased development of manufacturing interests in Wisconsin. Although much has been done for so new a State, yet the fact is apparent that our people follow too exclusively a single pursuit. A sound policy requires that many articles which we now purchase from abroad, should be manufactured by us for use and for export. The money that we now expend creates a continued drain upon our financial resources, while it might by a proper policy be kept at home; and when once so directed, thriving manufacturing villages would spring up all over the State, giving an increased home market to agriculturists, steady and profitable employment to mechanical genius and ingenuity, and adding immensely to the development of our internal resources.

As a people, we buy too much, and what is more to our disadvantage and discredit, we purchase at a largely enhanced price, the products of our soil, after they have made a lengthy voyage to and from the Eastern States.

With the richest lead mines in the Union, if not in the world, we buy this metal in its various forms from manufacturing establishments far distant from our borders.

Our Iron mines are, as yet, almost unopened, although it is well ascertained that the mineral abounds at different points in the State in the greatest richness, and almost inexhaustible abundance. All our Zinc and Copper is imported, while the ores of these metals are found in immense deposits, ready to be converted into use at the touch of skill and capital. We expend large sums for Glass in its various forms, while it is certain, from Geological explorations, that the material of which glass is made, is widely distributed over the State. We buy most of our pottery and all of our crockery from abroad, yet no fact is more certain than that every variety, almost, of clay exists in plenty in our limits, even to the *kaolin* from which china-ware is manufactured. So we import all the marble used, from distant points, as also slates, while deposits of these await only the hand of industry to make them available. So we expend large sums every year for plaster, hydraulic cement, mineral paint, and other similar necessities, the raw material of which is abundant. Nor is there any apparent reason, except that capitalists have not undertaken the work, why all kinds of agricultural implements, tools, and machinery, wooden and willow ware, wagons and carriages, leather, and the various articles into which it is made up; castings, engines, in short, all that we use of these necessary articles, may

not be supplied almost entirely by the labor and skill of our own people, and within the State.

It is equally our interest, so far as it is in our power, to turn our attention to the manufacture of woolen, cotton and linen fabrics, the purchase of which makes up so large a portion of our annual expenditures. Encouragement to wool-growing and the cultivation of flax is, and should be, regarded as encouragement to the looms we so greatly need—that these productions may not be shipped hundreds of miles and then brought back in a changed form; but they should be purchased and worked up in Wisconsin, and by Wisconsin industry and skill. The manufacture of cotton goods, it is believed, might also be introduced into the State with a fair prospect of success. The vast water-powers existing in almost all parts of the State, convenient of access to our great market places, chide us for lack of improvement. The great carrying highway on our west invites the raw cotton hither. Why may it not as well come and answer to our necessities and conveniences, wrought in our own cotton mills, instead of traveling three or four thousand miles to New England, and then brought West in new shapes by Western merchants, thus increasing the expense and cost of what we are compelled to purchase?

Surely the eight hundred thousand people now in Wisconsin, and the coming eight hundred thousand, with all our manufacturing facilities, ought to afford a sufficiently wide field for manufacturing enterprise. As a means of encouragement to manufactures enumerated, or unenumerated, I suggest to the Legislature the propriety of a law, under proper restrictions, exempting from taxation, for a limited period of five or ten years, all such establishments as may be erected, which will develop or work up the raw or crude materials so plentiful in the State, and to extend the same encouragement to existing establishments, whenever proprietors will enlarge their works, or continue to aid and extend the development of its material resources. Such a law would not, in my judgment, diminish the assessed valuation of property to any considerable extent, nor increase the rate of taxation upon the people; exempting, generally, only property that would not otherwise be brought and invested here, while it would tend directly to greatly increase taxable property, from the effects likely to follow the permanent establishment of new and extensive manufactures. It would induce the investment of foreign capital that would not otherwise find its way hither, and in a few short years return to the people an ample reward for legislative indulgence.

INTEREST.

A difficulty, in the way of the outlay of capital in manufactures, has existed in the large rates of interest authorized by law. While ten and twelve per cent. for the use of money can be realized, money will be constantly more or less withdrawn from any

branch of business that produces wealth. Money loaned produces no wealth—adds nothing to the common stock. It simply draws to itself by a kind of accretive power. The farmer who can only realize two or three per cent., after all his toil and labor, on the value of his farm, must be tempted to sell his land, and stop producing, when he discovers that on the money for which he sells, he can realize without labor, ten or twelve per cent. Capitalists will not put their money into manufactures, while they can realize without risk ten or twelve per cent., for the use of *their* money. I have twice before called the attention of the Legislature to this subject, and beg leave to refer again to the views expressed in my two last messages upon it.

AMENDMENTS.

The Constitution of the State ought to be amended so as to increase the number of Judges of the Supreme Court to five. The rapid increase of the business of that Court, keeping pace with the growth of population, and business development, of the country, taxes the Judges with too much, and too severe labor. In justice to the Judges themselves, and to the business constantly before the Court, this relief out to be provided.

The Constitution ought also to be amended, so that, after the close of my present term, my successors may be paid a higher salary than that now authorized by the Constitution, or else so that no man but a man of wealth can be eligible to the office. The present salary requiring the most rigid economy in the official incumbent, to give him a bare livelihood, renders the position most humiliating, when occasions require the commonest courtesies to be extended to distinguished strangers from abroad.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

I have before called the attention of the Legislature to the necessity of some further legislation to aid in a more efficient organization of the militia of the State. While there is a mere skeleton of an organization, no efficient use can be made of it to suppress insurrection or rebellion from within, or to prevent aggressions from abroad. The militia may be used, under the direction of the Executive, to sustain the civil arm of the Government, and to aid in the execution of the laws. The laws are to be executed only in the manner directed by the laws themselves, and the military forces can only be used to aid the officers of the law in executing the process of a court, when obstructions are placed in the way, and in suppressing riots. No provision whatever has ever been made to meet the expenses which would necessarily be incurred in the use of a military force, for any purpose whatever. While, therefore, it is the duty of the Executive to see that the laws are faithfully executed, he is left comparatively powerless—called upon to execute without means of execution. The signs of the times indicate that there may arise

a contingency in the condition of the Government, when it will become necessary to respond to a call of the National Government for men and means to maintain the integrity of the Union, and to thwart the designs of men engaged in an organized *treason*. While no unnecessary expense should be incurred, yet it is the part of wisdom, both for individuals and States, in revolutionary times, to be prepared to defend our institutions to the last extremity. I commend this subject to your wisdom and discretion.

SLAVERY, DISUNION, ETC.

By the original articles of Confederation, the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, severally entered into "a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare;" binding themselves to assist each other "against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever." Each State retained its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which was not by the Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

This was a league of the States, and not a government of the people of the United States.

Experience soon proved that while in some respects that species of government answered the purpose for which it was created yet the diversity of local and sectional interests, and the claims of the several States themselves, to the right to exercise powers not too well defined, and the differences gradually growing up between the several States, from a variety of causes, showed the necessity of a form of government widely different in principle, which should acquire and maintain a larger degree of permanent strength and efficiency, by making the people themselves, instead of the several States, directly parties to it.

The Confederation was a league of friendship between the States, having in view, as declared, the common defense of the States; the security of the liberty of the States; the mutual general welfare of the States; as they bound themselves, each separately speaking for itself and not for the people, to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever. The technical obligation was that the Confederation should make common cause in defending any State; in securing the liberty of any State, and its general welfare; that the States should assist each other against all force offered, not to the people, but to the State; against all attacks made upon the States,

and not against attacks made upon the people, on account of religion, sovereignty of the States—not sovereignty of the people; trade of the States—not attacks upon the trade of the people. The league was, in other words, to protect the States in the enjoyment of their rights as such, and to protect State sovereignty, so far as the States were sovereign, without regard to the rights of the people themselves, which were solely to be determined, except in a few enumerated cases, by the government of the several States themselves. It was a compact between several sovereign powers, virtually distinct from each other, made for certain specified purposes, and to aid each other in the exercise of their several prerogatives as independent States. The people, strictly, did not make it.

The statesmen of that day, satisfied that that species of government must ultimately prove a failure to a very great degree, devised a new system, which, while it retained a few of the features of the Confederation, so far as the limited independence of the States was concerned, was materially different, particularly in that *the people themselves*, as a *people*, instead of *States*, became parties to it. *A league of States* was turned into a *government of the people*. It was necessarily made to embrace a great variety of particulars, in order to accommodate the interests, or opinions of interests, of the States whose several peoples became parties to it, and it involved the necessity of a spirit of accommodation to the reasonable expectations of the people, and of moulding and arranging the particulars which composed the whole in a manner to satisfy, so far as possible, all the parties to it. It was made, not for the benefit of any State; to gratify any whim, caprice, or passion; to pander to any local influence, or to protect or foster any local interest.

In the one case, the States made the articles of confederation for the States themselves. In the other case, the people of the United States ordained and established our present Constitution, "*for the United States of America.*"

In the one case, the States entered into a league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to or attacks made upon them, &c.

In the other case, "*The people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, ordained and established this Constitution, for the United States of America.*"

Here are the different purposes avowed in the organization of the two systems of government. One looking particularly to the benefit and interest of the States, and the other more to the protection of the rights of the people. Under the new system, the people delegated certain powers, by the Constitution, particularly enumerated to

be solely exercised by the General Government of the United States. At the same time they declare that "the enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, should not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people;" also that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it, to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

Here are absolute grants and positive reservations, with the clear declaration that by the enumeration of certain rights in the Constitution conferred upon a General Government, there should be no construction that they denied or disparaged any of the rights not enumerated, but retained by them. While they give up certain rights and conferred or delegated certain powers, they did not give up all, nor did they in set terms reserve all that were reserved, but in their delegation and reservation assumed that there were other rights than those enumerated, which were not to be denied or disparaged, the same being retained by the people themselves. So the powers held, and to be exercised, by what we call the General Government are only those expressly delegated, or such implied powers as become absolutely necessary to be used in the exercise of delegated powers. The government takes nothing but what the Constitution gives it and the States respectively, and the people part with nothing—lose nothing—but what they have in express terms given away. The United States are sovereign and independent in the exercise of delegated powers, and the States and the people sovereign and independent in the exercise of all reserved and non-enumerated powers of government. The government of each State belongs to the people of that State. The government of the United States belongs to the people of the United States. The people of each State may mould and control the civil and political institutions pertaining peculiarly to itself, and so long as they do not act in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, may change their system as they please, without consulting the General Government. The people of the United States alone can change the character of the General Government. The General Government cannot change the character of a State Government, or usurp or exercise any power over it not delegated, nor can any State, or the people of any one State, change the character of the United States Government, abridge its powers or add anything to them; restrict or increase its jurisdiction or authority, impair any of its rights, violate its constitutional laws, or disturb its integrity and wholeness.

Each State has the power, within its own jurisdiction, as it is its duty, to protect the rights of persons and property of its citizens; and the citizen of any one State, sojourning in any other State, as a citizen of the United States, has a right to be protected in his person by the government of the United States, in the exercise and enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities which belong to him under the Constitution, which is the common charter and shield of the whole people.

The government of the United States is Federal in a limited

sense, so far as in the exercise of its powers it operates upon the political bodies called States, in their political capacity. But so far as it operates upon the people in their individual capacities, in its ordinary and essential proceedings, it is purely National, though limited in its jurisdiction. The governments both of the several States and the United States, are inviolable within their distinct spheres. The people act, make and unmake constitutions and laws, by processes known only to the Constitution of the several States or the United States. The government is one of law and not of force, and there is no revolutionary element in its character. The Constitution tells us how it may be changed, and tells us the only peaceable mode of changing it. It tells us how boundaries and territorial jurisdiction may be extended and enlarged. It gives power to Congress to admit new States, but *no power to turn one out*. By virtue of its complete sovereignty and independence as against all the other nations of the earth, and as a power necessarily incident to government, it may acquire new territory by treaty, by conquest or by purchase. It has power in itself to strengthen and confirm the government, making it greater, richer, stronger; but no where in it is found a delegated power to aid in breaking in pieces the Union, or to suffer it to be broken.

When the Government was made it was intended to be perpetual, and no plan or devise was suggested or conceived whereby it could be destroyed. Mr. Madison concisely stated the delegated, and some of the reserved, powers of the National and State governments. "The powers delegated in the Constitution to the Government are few and defined. Those which remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiations and foreign commerce; with which last the power of taxation will, for the most part, be connected. The powers reserved to the several states will extend to all the objects which, in the ordinary course of affairs, concern the lives, liberties and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State. The operations of the Federal Government will be most extensive and important in times of war and danger; those of the State governments in times of peace and security." In the exercise of the various powers by these different governments, great care and prudence must ever be exercised. The reserved rights of the States are not to be imposed upon or impaired by usurpations of the National Government, or any of its departments, nor is a single delegated power to be restricted or opposed in its exercise. The General Government is to look to the general welfare, and to the integrity and perpetuity of the Union for the great purposes for which it was established; while the States must take care of the lives and liberties and properties of the people, and the internal order, improvement and prosperity of the State.

This Government, so artfully conceived and skillfully formed, with its legislative, judicial and executive departments, as between State and National, claiming of right, a double allegiance—an allegiance not inconsistent or antagonistic—complicated yet simple, is to-day involved in strange difficulties; and perhaps dangers. For three score years the States multiplied and waxed strong; the nation grew great and rich, beloved at home, and respected and feared abroad. The citizens of the United States, in any part of the civilized world, had but to declare their country, and nations respected their rights. To-day, citizens of independent States and of the United States, within the national jurisdiction, upon American soil, are mobbed and hung upon the next tree, for the mere expression of opinion upon questions both of radical principle and of public policy; and sometimes for even refusing to express an opinion—silence being construed into crime.

The idea of Mr. Jefferson, that Governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed—not from a part, but from the whole governed—runs through and is the spirit of our common Constitution. The people who were to live under it and to be protected by it, made it for themselves and consented to abide by it, paying it their obedience as they claimed its protection. *Government is the exercise of the power of making and executing laws.* Here those who exercise this power of making and executing the laws are not, or at least should not be, self-chosen. The people choose or should choose whom they will to exercise this power, for their own purpose and benefit, limited in that exercise only by the rule of that Constitution which the people themselves have made. It was made for the purpose of protecting and not for the purpose of taking away inalienable rights, for the purpose of protecting and preserving civil and religious liberty, and not for the purpose of extending human slavery. So said the fathers of our system, who, while they tolerated slavery as an existing institution, deemed that ultimately it would be extinguished, and the nation become in fact what it is in theory, the home of universal Liberty. Interest, and passion, and ambition have startled the civilization of the age with strange ideas of government; and of the equality of mankind. The theory that this Government is a machine to be used to extend Slavery wherever its power and jurisdiction reaches, and wherever our national flag floats; and that when so extended, the whole power of the nation should be used to sustain the institution there, through the direct declarations or implied consent of the head of the government, and the chiefs of its departments, has taken so strong a hold upon the people of large sections of the country, that a wild excitement rages upon the subject.

Within the last year—as is a legal habit once in four years—the people, in the usual constitutional way, without force or violence; with no armed bands; with no hostile or wicked intent; with no serried ranks or glittering bayonets, elected a President

of the United States. The choice of the people, as shown in the selection made by the electors, is a peaceable, quiet citizen, undeniably eligible to the office. His opinions upon questions of public policy are precisely such as have been entertained by those who have held the high office and discharged its duties before him. Believing that human slavery is in antagonism to that common liberty sought to be established and maintained under our common Constitution, he is opposed to its extension into the Free Territories of the United States. While he consents to the fact of the existence of slavery in many of the States, and avows that there is no right in the Free States, or in the General Government, to any interference, directly or indirectly, with slavery in the Slave States, he is opposed to its extension unauthorized by law. The multitude of people by whose suffrages he has been elected, entertain the same views. There is nothing unconstitutional in entertaining such views, or in expressing or avowing such opinions. There is no pretence by any considerable number of people anywhere, that there can be any legal interference with slavery in the Slave States, except by the people of the States themselves. The right or power of interfering by force is almost universally denied.

Yet, on account of the result of such an election, interfering with the rights of no people or class of people, either in or out of the slave States; taking away the rights of no State nor of the people of any State; and on account of opinions and principles precisely such as were entertained by Washington and Jefferson and Madison, and all the early Presidents and statesmen both in the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, violence is invoked, and armed men, making actual war upon the nation, threaten a dissolution of this Union, and the destruction of this government. The Constitution of the United States makes no man a slave. It makes slaves of no class of men. The great leading idea of the government, that underlies all, overshadows all, permeates all, is civil and religious liberty. The idea that slavery under such a Constitution goes traveling into the free territories, without any local law in those territories authorizing or tolerating it, is both absurd and wicked. Men are not universally recognized as property, or as the common subjects of property. The fact that a class of men are held as slaves under the laws of any given State, does not make them slaves out of the jurisdiction of that State unless it can be legally and legitimately assumed that the laws of a slave State follow the slave outside of that State, and are in actual force beyond its limits. Because the people of the free States entertain views opposed to slavery extension, and because they have elected a President of the same faith, war is threatened, and devastation and blood.

A variety of excuses are made for the threatening attitude assumed toward the government and Union. The extreme Southern States complain of the Personal Liberty Bills, and demand their immediate and unconditional repeal.

In the slave States farthest South, from which a slave has scarcely ever escaped, there is the most apparent excitement on this subject. Further complaints are made because of the difficulty of enforcing the fugitive slave law in the North. Odious as that law is, it has been enforced in almost every State where the attempt has been made. Whether right or wrong, this is the fact. That people should object to an odious, and as they believe, unconstitutional law, which calls upon them to aid in reducing men to slavery, is not remarkable. A change in its oppressive features would, just to the extent of the change, do away with hostility to it.

Personal liberty laws are found or should be found, upon the statutes of every State. They ought to be there. All States have them, both North and South, varying in their character and provisions, yet still personal liberty laws. The highest duty of the legislature of any civilized State, is to provide by every constitutional means for the protection of the rights of person of the citizen. So a law for the protection and preservation of the liberty of the people cannot be too stringent if it is within the Constitution. The States never surrendered the right to protect the person of citizens. Every living human being has a right to a legal test of the question of whether he is a free man or a slave. While it cannot be consented that laws, looking to the protection of liberty, should be repealed, yet all such laws should conform to the Constitution of the United States. If on a close examination and scrutiny, you are satisfied that any of the provisions of our personal liberty laws are in conflict with the Constitution, it will be your duty, as your pleasure, to so change them that they shall conform to that Constitution. But no fear, no favor, no hope of reward, no demand, no threat, should ever induce or drive a free people to break down the walls of their protection. We love the Constitution and the Union of these States. We will make sacrifices of feeling to appease and conciliate our brethren, but *we will make no more sacrifices of principle*. While this government stands, and we consent to live under it, Liberty may pay to Slavery the price the Fathers agreed should be paid, but, with our consent, it shall pay no more. We will abide by, and have never refused to abide by, the Compromises of our common Constitution. But, subject to that Constitution, the civil and religious liberty, for which the flesh of the martyrs melted, and their bones crackled, in the flames; for which the Pilgrims became Pilgrims, and for which our fathers fought, shall travel down to other generations as they came careering on in the midst of the ages, with not one right impaired or one attribute lost.

The remedy chosen for the imaginary evils suffered by the South, is *Secession*, and a total disruption of the States. And here, in brave words, the right of secession is claimed. One State did not make the Union, nor did the people of one State make it. It was the joint work of all the people, speaking through

all the States, and only the power that made it can destroy it. A disruption of a part is a disruption of the whole.

The right of a State to secede from the Union can never be admitted. The national government cannot treat with a State while it is in the Union, and particularly while it stands in an attitude hostile to the Union. So long as any State assumes a position, foreign, independent, and hostile to the government, there can be no conciliation. The government of the United States cannot treat with one of its own States as a foreign power. The constitutional laws of the United States extend over every State alike. They are to be enforced in every State alike.

A State cannot come into the Union as it pleases, and go out when it pleases. Once in, it must stay until the Union is destroyed. There is no coercion of a State. But where a faction of a people arrays itself, not against one act, but against all laws, and against all government, there is but one answer to be made: "*The Government must be sustained, and the laws shall be enforced!*"

Secession is revolution; revolution is war; war against the government of the United States is treason.

It is time, now, to know whether we have any government, and if so, whether it has any strength. Is our written Constitution more than a sheet of parchment? The nation must be lost or preserved by its own strength. Its strength is in the patriotism of the people. It is time now that politicians become patriots, that men show their love of country by every sacrifice but that of principle, and by unwavering devotion to its interests and integrity.

The hopes of civilization and christianity are suspended now upon the answer to this question of dissolution. The capacity for, as well as the right of self-government is to pass its ordeal, and speculation to become certainty. Other systems have been tried and have failed, and all along the skeletons of nations have been strewn, as warnings and landmarks upon the great highway of historic government. Wisconsin is true, and her people steadfast. She will not destroy the Union, nor consent that it shall be done. Devised by great, and wise, and good men, in days of sore trial, it must stand. Like some bold mountain, at whose base the great seas break their angry floods, and around whose summit the thunders of a thousand hurricanes have rattled strong, unmoved, immovable—so may our Union be, while treason surges at its base, and passions rage around it, unmoved, immovable—here let it stand forever.

ALEX. W. RANDALL.

SPECIAL MESSAGE
OF THE
GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN

DELIVERED TO THE
LEGISLATURE AT THE EXTRA SESSION, MAY 15, 1861.

Senators and Representatives :

At the close of the last annual session of the Legislature, to meet a sudden emergency, an act was passed authorizing me to respond to the call of the President of the United States, for "aid in maintaining the Union and the supremacy of the laws, or to suppress rebellion or insurrection, or to repel invasion within the United States," and I was authorized, and it was made my duty, to take such measures as in my judgment should provide in the speediest and most efficient manner, for responding to such call ; and to this end I was authorized to accept the services of volunteers for active service, to be enrolled in companies of not less than seventy-five men each, rank and file, and in regiments of ten companies each. I was also authorized to provide for uniforming and equipping such companies as were not provided with uniforms and equipments.

The first call of the President for immediate active service, was for one regiment of men.

My proclamation, issued immediately after the passage of the act of the Legislature, was answered within less than ten days, by companies enough, each containing the requisite number of men, to make up at least five regiments, instead of one. I then issued another proclamation, announcing the offers that had been made, and advising that thereafter companies might be enrolled to stand as minute men, ready to answer further calls, as they might be made, but without expense to the State, except as they were mustered into service. In less than one month from the date of my first proclamation, at least five thousand men, either as individuals or in enrolled companies, have offered their services for the war, and all appear anxious for active service in the field.

In providing for the First Regiment, embarrassments have resulted from the fact that there has never been an efficient military organization in this State—no system or discipline. The men who had seen active field service were very few, or were almost entirely unknown; and the order and manner of equipping and uniforming and arming soldiers and officers for rugged war were mysteries, the solution of which could only be found by actual experiment.

So the expenses incurred in preparing the First Regiment have been greater to some extent than they otherwise would have been, or than they hereafter will be.

The spirit evoked by the rebellion against the government of the United States is such as has never before been manifested since its organization. The people understand that it is their government that is assailed, and everywhere throughout the North they are rising up to rebuke the treason so rife in some portions of the land.

The deepening and widening dangers that threaten our institutions, and the pressure of public opinion from all parts of the State, with the growing certainty that further calls would be made upon this State, forced me to form another camp, and to bring together another regiment of men, and to authorize a number of isolated companies which had volunteered, to remain together, and to learn so far as was possible without suitable arms, the discipline and drilling necessary for men going into actual war. It is a matter of public necessity and safety not only for the States but for the Government that an outlet be found for the spirit that is abroad among the liberty-loving people of the land. That spirit is driving them to action, and if the Government does not or will not permit *them to act for it, they will act for themselves*. It is better that the State or Federal Government should direct this current than to suffer it to run wildly. There is a moral element and a reasoning element in this uprising that cannot be controlled in the ordinary manner. There is a conviction of great wrongs to be redressed, and that the Government, which is in danger, is to be preserved by the willing hearts and strong hands of those to whom it belongs. This current of popular feeling must be directed and controlled, or there will come of it something more than a war to put down rebellion; it will become a war between border States, and those whose interests are connected with the border States, and in such a war, for the time being, the Government might be lost sight of. If it was absolutely certain that the seventy-three thousand troops first called, would wipe out the rebellion in three weeks from to-day, it would still be the policy of the Government and for its best interests, in view of what ought to be the future of this great Nation, to call into the field, as fast as they could be armed, at least three hundred thousand men.

The majesty and power of this government, if it has either, should be manifested now, so that the world may see it, and so

that for all future time in its history the idea of secession and rebellion, shall be an idea of the past. When the people see that their uprising has put down the rebellion, they will be satisfied, and not before.

The difficulties of the present crisis are growing greater and more extreme every day. Broad and more extended fields are constantly opening by the threatening attitude of new States, forced by treachery, or by armed mobs, dignified by the names of rebels, into secession. One State after another, willing or unwilling, has been or is now being placed in an attitude of hostility to Federal authority; until with one more seceding State, there will be fifteen hundred miles of contiguous territory standing in most wicked warlike antagonism.

It is a most startling consideration that the people of the United States should be at war with each other, and that the Government of the United States should be forced to the terrible necessity of maintaining its authority, against international dissensions, by force of arms. The settled design to overthrow our system, so wisely designed, complicated yet simple, the completest for working out the greatest good of all men under it, is so strange, unaccountable, causeless, inexcusable; that war had actually begun, and an attack upon public property had actually been made, before the law abiding people of the country could be brought to realize that danger existed. We had noticed for a long time apparent preparations for mischief, and had heard threats of a hostile disposition in one portion of the country against another portion; but eighty years of growth and prosperity had so fastened upon the minds of the people the idea of permanency and strength, that it was impossible to conceive of a serious, deliberate intent to destroy the Union.

The feeble colonies of revolutionary days had grown into great States, many of which in population equaled, and in wealth exceeded the population and wealth of the whole thirteen at the close of our first great struggle. An increase in population from about three to thirty-three millions of men, women, and children, and an increase in wealth of thousands upon thousands of millions of dollars, should be our sufficient warrant, for assuming that the government under which we have lived, and under which our fathers lived, and under which the posterity of this great people ought to live in peace, was, and is of some value, and that it ought not for slight causes to be disturbed.

The election of a man to the Presidency of the United States, according to the usual mode, strictly in conformity with the Constitution of the United States, without force or violence, is the pretext upon which what is called secession is now attempted. Just as all Presidents but one have been elected to the highest executive office on this Continent, so Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. There is no pretence anywhere that the election was not legal and constitutional. His installation

however, was the occasion of resistance to the constituted authorities, and State after State has been madly precipitated into a revolution. To make more severe the trials of the country in this exigency, some high in position as cabinet ministers, and as administrative officers, had been covertly and treacherously using the whole power intrusted to them, to destroy the force and efficiency of the machinery of the government. On the 4th of March last, the new presidential incumbent found the treasury of the nation empty, and its credit exhausted; its army scattered in small bands to extreme points, so that it could not be concentrated within any reasonable time; its ships dismantled and disabled, or in foreign and far distant ports, and its arms doubly secured by being deposited in the willing hands of traitors, and every diurnal revolution brought fresh anxieties, as the treachery and faithlessness of a multitude of civil, military and naval officers became manifest. The very magnitude of the crimes that have been committed against the government, appalled the stoutest, and the stealing of moneys from the public treasury, the plunder of arms from the arsenals, and other public crimes, were so majestic and imposing in their extent, that by their side, the dignity and luster of the boldest conspiracies and robberies of which history makes record are dim and shadowy in their littleness and meanness.

It is easy to conceive, at such a time and, under such embarrassments as those, how much labor must have been performed to bring back the government even to the point it has now reached, and it is also clearly to be perceived how much the States themselves must be relied upon to furnish efficient aid to restore the country to health and strength and prosperity. The Federal Government, being theoretically one of law and not of force, cannot act with that celerity incident to a despotic one, whose strength is in great armies, ready at the trumpet's call to engage in conflict. It must work slowly, but it will move with power. We must approve of whatever it has done and be prepared for further exhibitions of energy, such as the public exigencies may demand. But the States must be prepared to aid the Government by supplies of men, and if necessary by the loan of means. Each State can muster its quota of soldiers quicker than the Government can muster the quota of each State, and so each State can arm and uniform and equip its quota quicker than the Government can arm, equip and uniform them all.

There is necessity of giving immediate attention to the country directly contiguous to the line between the law-abiding and seceding States, and those that still may be forced into secession. The Union men of the seceding States, and particularly of the border States must in some way be sustained. The fierceness of this wicked rebellion is to exhibit itself through the last named sections of country more than anywhere else, yet on the law and government side of the line of division there is less preparation for defence than almost anywhere else. From Pittsburg and Cincin-

nati to the mouth of the Ohio, on the Northern side of the river, the country is almost entirely defenceless against an armed enemy.

At the present time Cincinnati and numerous smaller towns on the river could be utterly destroyed and the contiguous country laid waste without the means of resistance. It is matter of absolute necessity not only for the north border states but for north-western states to be able to control the business and commerce of the Ohio river, and the upper Mississippi, in order to reach a vital part of this rebellion. They must be able to cut off from the seceding States, all supplies of breadstuffs, and also to stop the transit and transportation of arms or munitions of war. An enemy to our common country cannot be permitted to hold an important point like Cairo. The Mississippi and Ohio rivers must be kept at all times open to the legitimate and honest commerce and business of the North-west. St. Louis must be strengthened in the hands of the Union men of Missouri, not only because it is just that it should be so, but because the interests of the free territories west and north-west of that city, demand it. The vast lumber and mineral interests of Wisconsin, independent of her commanding produce and stock trade, bind her fast to the North border and North-western states, and demand, like them, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and all its tributaries, from their highest navigable waters to their mouths.

The necessities I have named being granted, we must look to the means to do what ought to be done in the least possible time. It needs men, arms, and munitions of war. One hundred and sixty thousand men, if it were necessary, could be enrolled in a few weeks for such purposes, and among the swarming millions of border and North-western States, there is but one pulse beating to-day, and but one purpose: to hold up the hands—not of Abraham Lincoln—but of the President of the United States; maintain the integrity of the Government, and to aid in executing the laws in every State alike. The north-west needs a better military organization, and a military head, under Federal control, to which these States can look for orders, and to which they can communicate their necessities without tedious and mischievous delays.

I know full well that the Federal Government will act for the west and for the border States, just as fast as it seems to see a necessity. We can see a necessity for action now, not only for the safety of the General Government, but for the safety of the Union men of the south border States, and of the northern border States, and also for our own interests in the way of our large trade and commerce upon the Mississippi and its tributaries. The common interests of all the north-west, must have a common protection, and in crushing out this wicked rebellion, the north-western States must make common cause with the Federal Government.

The border and north-western States cannot wait to see their towns and cities, upon navigable streams, sacked and burned, and

the contiguous country wasted, and then content themselves simply with retaliation. They must be supplied with the means of preventing disasters of the kind.

These States cannot be satisfied with small call after small call of *raw troops*, to be put into the field as soon as mustered, without discipline or drilling, or a knowledge of the use of arms. They would not be soldiers, but simply marks for an enemy to shoot at. Men must understand the use of arms to be efficient soldiers either in defending our States or in aid of the government. They cannot well learn the use of them until they get them.

There should be an authority to put more men into the field, and there must be arms furnished for the men. Soldiers ought to go into camp and learn the use of weapons and the duties of soldiers. If the government cannot at once furnish arms, the States must do it, and wait upon the Government. The States should be preparing their aid both in furnishing men and providing arms, so that when mustered into service the army may be efficient.

Illinois has but a trifle over double the population of Wisconsin, and the call for six regiments from Illinois, and only one from Wisconsin, is so disproportionate, as to excite extreme dissatisfaction. Companies enough for five regiments, almost, are enrolled and drilling without arms, and two regiments, partially armed with indifferent weapons, are in camp. We need, for the protection, and use, and benefit of our citizen soldiery, arms *now*, war or no war. It is as yet impossible to ascertain to what extent the States, particularly this State, will be called upon to furnish forces, or to what extent the forces called for must be armed, equipped, and uniformed for service. The people of the State, and of all the States, are anxious to know what and how much is expected of them, and are ready to respond. While the details of the policy of the administration should not be made public, information of the general purposes of the Government should be lodged somewhere in each loyal State, so that there can be an authoritative assurance of what is intended and expected. In the absence of such information, the judgement of this Legislature must determine for Wisconsin, what aid she can afford to extend to the Federal Government in the way of regiments of men, and in the way of arming, equipping and uniforming its own citizens, for military purposes, and how far it will make its military forces useful and efficient by putting them in the shape of regiments into camp to be drilled, inured to the hardships of the soldier's life, and made skillful in the use of arms, before being called upon to face experienced armies in battle.

In my judgment, at least six regiments of soldiers ought to be put into camp to learn soldier's duties, in addition to the one first called for. They should be armed and uniformed and equipped by the State now, and when mustered into the service of the United States their arms and uniforms and equipments accounted for to the State by the National Government. The men sent to war

should be soldiers when they go, or there will be few of them living soldiers when it is time for them to return.

An appropriation of at least one million of dollars will, in my judgment, be necessary for the purpose of putting into the field a reserved force, and for providing to meet the demands of the Government as they are made. An authority ought to be given to purchase for the use of the State, in addition to such arms as are required for the use of regiments going into the field, six rifled cannon.

And now, to the judgment of the Legislature I commit the subjects suggested, invoking a calm, firm, deliberate, unimpassioned, yet bold consideration and action.

In revolutionary days the men who fought our battles, the men who deliberated and who made or laid the foundation for making our institutions, put at hazard life and fortune and honor, counting all these of little value by the side of the great end and object to be attained—Civil and Religious Liberty. Money is a small price to pay for these, and he who will not to-day aid in maintaining this Government by every possible means, is no patriot, and has no right, either for his person or property, to claim the protection of the laws.

The value of the property of Wisconsin is two hundred millions of dollars at least. What man having two hundred dollars will refuse to spend two dollars out of that sum, that he may quietly, in his own right, enjoy the other one hundred and ninety-eight?

The time for deliberation must give way to the time for action. The Constitution of the United States must be sustained in all its first intent and wholeness. The right of the people of every state to go into every other state and engage in any lawful pursuit, without unlawful interference or molestation; the freedom of speech and of the press; the right of trial by jury; security from unjustifiable seizure of person or papers, and all constitutional privileges and immunities, must receive new guarantees of safety from tar and feathers, and halters and mobs. There can be no more compromises, no settlements, no treating with rebels, no concessions; nothing now but absolute submission to the power and jurisdiction and authority of the Government of the United States.

The people will never consent to any cessation of the war, forced so wickedly upon us, until the traitors are hung or driven into ignominious exile. This war began where Charleston is; it should end where Charleston was. The Supreme Ruler can but smile upon the efforts of the law loving, government loving, liberty loving people of this land, in resisting the disruption of this Union. These gathering armies are the instruments of His vengeance, to execute his just judgments; they are His flails wherewith on God's great Southern threshing floor, He will pound rebellion for its sins.

ALEX. W. RANDALL.

Madison, May 15, 1861.